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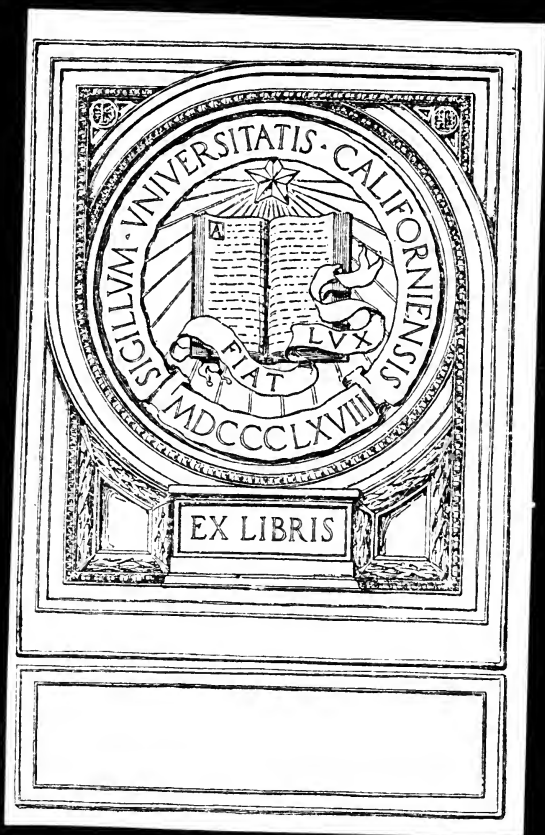
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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

Hittite Problems and the
Excavation of Carchemish

By

D. G. Hogarth

Fellow of the Academy

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HITTITE PROBLEMS AND THE EXCAVATION OF CARCHEMISH

By D. G. HOGARTH

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read Dec. 13, 1911

THE reasons which have led the authorities of the British Museum, and would lead any one else interested in ancient history, to promote the excavation of a first-rate Hittite site in Syria are very briefly these. The two Syrian sites, producing remains of Hittite character, which have been partially dug, viz. Sinjerli and Sakjegözü, have not yet yielded Hittite inscriptions at all, nor any other good evidence of having been inhabited by genuinely Hittite populations; yet it is on a Syrian site that there should be the best chance of finding inscriptions couched both in Hittite and in cuneiform characters, for the benefit of two populations which lived side by side but used different tongues. The nearer a site is to the Euphrates, the better are the chances of the discovery of such a bilingual text.

Further, even if the Hittite inscriptions should remain unread, the excavation of a very old stratified site, occupied at some period or periods by Hittites, must throw light on the obscure history of this people south of Taurus. Were they settled in Syria before the great descent of the Cappadocian Hatti which we now know to have taken place in the reign of Subbiluliuma, early in the fourteenth century B. C.? Hittites invaded Babylonia more than 300 years earlier than this. Were these Syrian or Cappadocian Hatti? What of the latter also after the great descent? Did they occupy Syria or merely conquer it? Its civilization certainly became Hittite; but were the Syrians who used this civilization all or any of them Hittites? What was the ethnic relation of the Hatti to the Mitanni, and what became of them and their civilization after the fall of Carchemish in 717 B. C.? Foreign influences acted upon both Hatti folk and Hatti civilization to the south of the Taurus, which did not act so strongly or at all to the north of that range. What were these, and how great was their influence? Was there a counter influence of the Hittite civilization on alien peoples? In a word, what part, if any, did the Hittites play in the general development of European civilization out of Asiatic? To answer these and similar historical questions we must first learn

a great deal more about that almost unknown thing, Hittite archaeology. The commoner and the smaller Hittite products, such as the pottery, terra-cottas, weapons, have never been studied in the light of excavation evidence; yet these, by their wide diffusion and frequent occurrence, should have as much to tell us as the architecture or sculpture or written documents, and often more. If we are ignorant of the common apparatus of Hittite life, we are even more in the dark about Hittite customs in death. No Hittite graves had been found and explored before last spring. In short, Hittite archaeology has been hitherto entirely embryonic.

In the hope of new light on historical and archaeological problems, which become every day more interesting and more important with the progress of exploration in Asia Minor, the British Museum resumed last spring the excavations at Jerablus in North Syria, which it had begun on a small scale more than thirty years ago. These excavations are to be continued in the coming season. Therefore anything said now of their results must be purely provisional. But already it may be legitimate to forecast some conclusions to which they tend.

The site called the Kaleh, i. e. the castle of Jerablus or Jerabis, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, about sixty miles north-east of Aleppo, has long been known for its comparatively great size, and for the height of the mound which represents its acropolis and for the bulk of its fortifications. There is no other ancient site on either bank of the river of such obvious importance until Babylon is reached some 500 miles down-stream,¹ and it is therefore natural that Jerablus should be identified with the principal ancient city which is known to have stood actually on the right bank of the middle Euphrates. This is the Gargamis of the Assyrian records, the Carchemish of the Old Testament.² Here was the capital of a kingdom always referred to as Hittite by the Ninevite scribes from at least the twelfth century B. C., and always a principal objective of the military expeditions which were pushed across the river into what the same scribes habitually called Hatti Land, viz. North and Eastern Syria. They refer, however, to other sites and tribal capitals in North Syria, and there is no evidence to show that Carchemish, when attacked by Assyria, had any lordship over these tribes and capitals, and still less that, as the capital of a Hittite province, it remained politically dependent on the Hittite realm in Cappadocia. Every-

¹ See Miss G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 33.

² See W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 263; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 265; J. Menant, *Kar-kemish*, in *Mem. Acad. Insc.*, xxxii.

thing, on the contrary, goes to suggest that from at latest the twelfth century B. C. it was the self-dependent capital of a community isolated from the Cappadocian Hatti, though probably it had been once dependent on them. In fact it was a detached survival of the empire established by the Cappadocian Hatti in Syria early in the fourteenth century B. C., of which the Boghaz Keui archives (as well as those of El Amarna in Egypt) have informed us. The cuneiform records further reveal that Carchemish was a strong place with a high acropolis rising immediately from the river, that on several occasions it yielded rich spoil, and that it had sufficient commercial importance to give its name to a measure of weight called the *maneh* or *mina* of Carchemish. The discovery of monuments in Hittite artistic style, accompanied by Hittite inscriptions, during the slight excavations made at the spot between 1876 and 1880 by the British Museum, practically confirmed the identification of Jerablus with Carchemish,¹ and, although even now no absolute proof has come to hand, that identification may safely be assumed.

The site may be considered in two parts: (1) the great Acropolis mound, and (2) the Lower City. The latter consists of an oval area fenced landwards by a great horseshoe wall between whose horns the acropolis rises from the river. The oval covers about three-quarters of a square mile, and its fortifications are pierced by two main gates on the south-west and south-east. Outside these gates roads can be traced with tombs beside them, and also remains of an outer circumvallation, which probably enclosed dwellings of poorer folk excluded from the royal city. But since no excavation has been done in this outer area, we need consider at present only the inner royal city, with its acropolis.

Let me take the acropolis first, although this is to invert the geographical order in which we actually dug. The great flat-topped citadels which rise out of Hittite sites in Syria have long called for thorough examination. Their summit plateaux, if they bear any ruins of structures at all, generally show Byzantine, early Moslem, or even Frankish remains, and Carchemish is no exception, for it shows Byzantine mixed with later Arab. But on many such mounds Hittite stones have been extracted from the flanks, e.g. at Tell Ahmar and Kellekli. The question to be solved at Jerablus was whether a Hittite fortress had stood on this mound but had either been removed by later builders or been buried by the accumulation

¹ See Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, pp. 63 and 143; and W. H. Rylands in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii. 3. No report of the actual excavation has ever been published.

of dust and later remains. If the latter was the case, then at what level had it stood? How deep did human remains descend in the bowels of this great mass about 150 feet in height and a quarter of a mile in length?

In the past season, in short, we had first to find out by cuttings the magnitude of our task. Had we to remove a mountain in order to get at the Hittite level, or was there a rock core rising so high in the heart of the mound that the earliest remains might lie not so very deep down after all?

This problem was not to be wholly solved in the first season. The later structures on the acropolis proved to have left a very deep deposit, and the work went slowly owing to frequent interruptions by terrible afternoon winds which sweep down the Euphrates valley in spring, raising such whirlwinds of dust that digging has to be suspended on exposed spots. But considerable progress towards the solution was made by means of headings, driven into the steep slope falling to the river where the winds have prevented much accumulation, and also by deep shafts sunk from the summit and in some cases opened into the headings so as to become cross trenches. Thus it was found that on the southern and broadest end of this mound there had been built in the Roman Syrian epoch a great structure, probably a temple, in the style of Baalbec, based on a solid platform, whose foundations went down nearly thirty feet through masses of unburnt brickwork. This structure must belong to the earlier period of re-occupation which is represented by the superficial remains in the lower city. No sign of a Hittite building appeared at this end of the acropolis, but nearer the centre, where the temple platform had not extended, crude brickwork had survived not more than four feet down. This appears to be remains of an Assyrian structure, probably of the eighth century B. C. But the diggers were unable to get below its great mass and therefore no Hittite structure was reached here (though a few fragments of Hittite sculpture were found), and it is clear that without enormous labour and expenditure it cannot be explored if it does exist. In the lowest level of a heading driven into this end of the mound from the river slope, however, and about fifty feet perpendicularly below the summit, the outcrop of a horizontal stratum was tapped which contained implements of very white obsidian, such as comes from the Caucasus, and of flint. With these were sherds of pottery, both pebble-polished and painted, but wheel-made, and beads and other small objects in rock-crystal and polished stones. Though representing a primitive settlement these objects can hardly have belonged to the very earliest inhabitants of Carchemish; nor was

virgin earth anywhere touched. It looks, therefore, as though the original dome of the rock lies more than fifty feet below the present summit of the mound—a fact which renders thorough exploration of the earliest level of human settlement here practically impossible, although its outcrop may yet be reached by lateral headings.

At the other end of the acropolis, however, i. e. the northern, which is narrower and can be cut through more quickly, the prospect is better. Here there has been no massive late structure, but merely a complex of mean rooms without deep foundations. Eighteen feet below are remains of a roughly-built stone fortification, and almost immediately under this again was found a well-built course of walling, resting on solid foundations; some of its blocks are dressed with such slightly convex faces as characterize masonry uncovered in the lower town and dated to the later Hittite age by the sculptures and other objects found in association or at the same level. The diggers in the past spring were able only to lay bare one short stretch of this wall at the bottom of a very deep trench; but they were fortunate enough to find close to it two remarkable Hittite monuments, a column-base flanked by two lions, and a very well preserved altar-stela inscribed with a linear Hittite inscription. These monuments seem to have been overthrown and abandoned at the same epoch as the neighbouring wall, and they go far to confirm the excavators' impression that they have here determined the position of a fortress or palace of the latest Hittite period.

The discovery of the two monuments just mentioned, which are of unusually fine work and true Hittite, offers good hope that something more than a mere ground plan will ultimately be recovered here. The palace was perhaps restored and reused after 717 B.C. by the Assyrian conqueror, Sargon III, one of whose bricks was found hard by.

The acropolis was not only a fortress at various stages of its growth, but also during a certain period a cemetery. The number of burials which have been brought to light is surprising when the small area of surface actually probed is considered. There are three different kinds of graves; but since the bodies in all these appear to have been cut up in the same way before interment and the pottery associated with them is always of the same peculiar kind, the dead buried in all three kinds of graves must have differed not in race or period, but only in social circumstances. The poorest were buried in earth and their huddled remains were covered by basins of coarse red or buff ware. These graves seldom or never have any furniture.

The next grade is pot burial, the jars used being about two feet long and of slender form with narrow mouth.¹ Placed beside the coffin

¹ Cp. Report of Cornell Expedition, *Travels and Studies*, I. ii, p. 23.

jar but never inside it were found in several instances small vases of the shape of a champagne glass, whose bowl and foot were wheel-made while their hollow connecting stems had been shaped by hand. Very rarely are these vases painted, and the few exceptions show simple geometrically disposed lines in matt red on buff ground. Apart from the graves fragments of this ware were so rarely found on any part of the site, that it seems possible it was a peculiar fabric used only for funerary purposes.

The best graves, however, were oblong cists, walled and roofed with stone slabs. Only four of these came to light, the largest being one which I cleared out with my own hands. It contained three dissected skeletons, nearly fifty large 'champagne-glass' and other vases, some bronze pins, many tiny glazed beads, fallen from necklaces, and a small bronze axe-head of plain wedge shape with straight cutting edge and no shaft hole. Bronze knives and many pins were obtained from other cists. These graves occurred in the flanks of the acropolis up to only twelve feet below its present summit. They must, therefore, have been made when that summit was not greatly lower than now; but since they contained no trace of iron, but did contain bronze, they are to be dated as far back at least as the Assyrian occupation. One, however, occurred under the foundation exposed at the north end of the mound which has been already described and conjectured to be late Hittite. On this account, as well as on account of the bronze types found in the cist-graves, I incline to regard all these burials as of the full Hittite period, probably of the eleventh or twelfth century B.C.

If so they are the first Hittite graves which so far have been explored anywhere and are of great archaeological interest. The graves found by von Luschan at Sinjerli (on the Palace mound) were not certainly Hittite. Indeed one may doubt whether Sinjerli was occupied by Hatti at all. All its inscriptions are Cuneiform or Aramaic, and its art appears to be of a derived type, not true Hittite.

There remains to be described the more extensive work done by us below the acropolis on the landward side. It was far more productive of archaeological spoil than that just described, but, to my mind, it promises less, for its results tend to show that the acropolis was the only part of the site inhabited until a comparatively late period—until, at earliest, the coming of the Hatti from Cappadocia in the fourteenth century B.C. At any rate the original Carchemish, known to the Egyptians of the eighteenth dynasty, was a much smaller place, perched on the mound above the river, and under its ruins only can we hope to recover the *primaeval* history of pre-Hittite Syria. What

has been done so far in the lower city is this in brief. A great stone stairway, at the landward foot of the southern end of the acropolis, had been found by the diggers of thirty years ago, but not completely cleared. They seem also to have explored very partially certain ruins of structures lying to the north of this stairway. From these ruins, but chiefly from the sides of the stairway itself, they extracted the inscribed and other monuments now in the British Museum. We reopened the stairway, which had become covered again with *débris*, and found that it rose by twenty-one shallow steps from a court, paved with pebbles, to a much ruined platform ; but so far as we can find it did not continue beyond this towards the acropolis, nor to any building lying directly in its own axis.

If so it must have given access to some other building, probably a palace or temple, lying to one side of it, and the researches of our predecessors and our own later trenching suggest that such a building lay to the left or north. But how far it extended and what its character was we are not yet in a position to say. Part of it seems to lie very deep. A trial pit sunk a short distance north of the stair went down nearly twenty-four feet and then hit the top of a good ashlar wall. There are evidently hollows to be expected in the original superficies of the site and the virgin soil lies deeper on the northern part than on the southern.

Having cleared the stairway, we cut back landward from its foot for about thirty yards, digging down through about seventeen feet of earth to the Hittite pavement, and sinking shafts at intervals to the virgin earth. This occurred on an average not more than three feet below the pebble pavement, without any intermediate human remains, except at one point close to the stair-foot, where a pot burial of later type than those on the acropolis was found. On this part of the site, then, the lowest existing stratum has been explored ; but it is not nearly so old as the lower strata of the acropolis.

In cutting back from the stair-foot we found that the pebble pavement was bounded on the north by a long wall of ashlar, faced on the south side but left rough on the north, which continued, with a slight outward slant, the line of the north edge of the stair. After continuing about eighty feet to the west this returned northward, but we had not time to follow it far. The roughness of the ashlar facing on the inner side of the angle so formed precludes the idea that we had here turned a corner of the palace or temple lying north of the stairway. This must begin farther east, and a small door which opens off the stair itself into a paved court must be one way of approach to it. Time did not permit the thorough exploration of this

building ; but some trials were made within its probable area, both at the south-western angle and elsewhere, and a well-built but much ruined chamber was cleared, the masonry of which is of the late Hittite type. The walling of the little court opening off the stairway was evidently lined with glazed and coloured bricks, of which several were found fallen.

Into the long lower wall seems to have been built a series of large reliefs, which faced outwards to the paved court. We found them fallen into the court to the number of thirteen in all. Six of these represent war chariots in action ; two, warriors on foot ; four, monstrous divine figures ; and one, occurring about the middle of the series, bears a long inscription in relief characters, below which appear three bearded heads and sixteen cut-off hands. As these slabs originally faced outwards, they were the lining of a monumental approach to the stairway, and led up to a series which lined the north side of the latter. One member of this series is still *in situ*, as to its lower half, and we were able to restore its upper part almost entirely from fragments found near by. Another large slab has fallen in two pieces not far away ; and part of a third, which was still *in situ* thirty years ago, as the photographs taken by the Wolfe expedition and published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*¹ show, was recovered from the foot of the stair. Parts of others were found higher up. Similar reliefs evidently lined the opposite edge of the stair ; but these had almost all been removed by the diggers between 1876 and 1880. A great carved slab at the south foot, however, defied their efforts, and still stands on its original plinth.

In excavating the considerable area occupied by the stairway, and the approach to it, we lighted on a number of inscribed and carved fragments, none of which, however, was found in its original place, but all lay at various levels in the overlying débris, as though abandoned at various periods by seekers after squared stones. About sixty out of the ninety Hittite inscriptions, which we can add to the *Corpus Inscr. Hettiticarum*, were so found. The rest, with the exception of one from the north end of the acropolis mound, and three or four discovered in other villages of the district, were picked up on the surface of the site or its immediate vicinity, or were extracted from the walls of ruined Byzantine buildings. Several reliefs, much weathered but still possible to distinguish, which had remained unnoticed by our predecessors and even by ourselves for awhile, were also found on the surface. Three of these still stand in line as though they had flanked an approach to the river round the

¹ By Hayes Ward, vol. iv, pl. 9.

southern butt of the acropolis. All have an early appearance, the style of their art seeming to owe almost nothing to Assyria, but much to Cappadocia and Babylonia. Except for trial excavations in houses built of sun-dried bricks, remains of which apparently survive all over the site, wherever protected by hollows in the original superficies, and except also for a tentative exploration of a necropolis outside the walls on the north, which resulted in the discovery of some water-logged rock-graves of post-Hittite date, this was all the digging done in the first season. I shall try to estimate very summarily and provisionally the contribution which its results make, or seem likely to make, when followed up farther, towards the solution of some problems of southern Hittite history.

On the problem of decipherment, whose solution will contribute materially to the solution of all the other problems, we have not been able, unfortunately, to throw any new light as yet. We began the excavation in strong hopes of finding Hittite records in cuneiform, if not a bilingual inscription in both the cuneiform and the Hittite scripts. Our hope will be judged reasonable enough when the geographical situation of Jerablus is considered, and it is remembered that three years before both Hittite and cuneiform monuments were discovered at Tell Ahmar, about fifteen miles down-stream, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. This latter place we now know (since Mr. Campbell Thompson has obtained a better reading of the inscriptions on its gateway lions) to have been Til Barsip, where Assyrian kings often embarked for the passage of the river.¹ But our four months' digging at Jerablus brought no scrap of a cuneiform tablet from any part of the site, and only a few small fragments of basaltic monuments inscribed in cuneiform, of about Nebuchadnezzar's time. Our Hittite inscriptions add several new characters, and illustrate more different styles of graving than have been noticed before. But they have not made decipherment easier, and we can only go on hoping through another season.

(1) *Hittite History*.—On certain of the historical problems we shall, I think, be in a position after another three months or so of digging to throw some light. We have found that the acropolis of Carchemish is stratified down to a depth which proves inhabitation back to a remote period, long pre-Hittite. The earliest stratum which we have explored contains pottery, stone implements, &c., to which no parallels have yet been found in Cappadocia; and this stratum is evidently not the absolutely earliest on the site. We ought

¹ Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

by about next June to be able to say where Hittite strata end and pre-Hittite begin, and to assign rough dating.

In strata certainly Hittite we can already distinguish at least three periods in ceramic production, three in sculpture, and two, if not three, in architecture. Of the pottery, which has been carefully studied by Mr. T. E. Lawrence, the earliest Hittite types have been found on the acropolis, whose lower strata, above the obsidian-bearing stratum, contain wheel-made unslipped bowls, jugs, and urns, either unpolished, with simple geometric ornament laid on with a coarse brush in purplish black and red paint, or polished, with similar incised ornament. These precede by a long period of time the pottery in the acropolis graves, which takes several forms, the champagne glass, with a hand-made hollow stem joining wheel-made bowl and foot, predominating. All these funerary vases are unslipped and unpolished, but of finely levigated clay, and in a few instances they show simple chevrons or other geometric motives painted in red on their rims. The hand-made basins, used for the poorest burials, are contemporary with these.

Following the cist-grave vases come undecorated plates and pots in red, yellow, and buff wares, pebble-polished in vertical lines. Such are found not only on the acropolis, but also in the brick houses below, and are contemporary with the earliest and most numerous terra-cotta figurines. They were succeeded by horizontally polished wares, the burnished rings on which have been made by a sharp point while the vase was revolving on the potter's wheel. This type of ware is characteristic of the later Hittite stratum at the foot of the stairway, and is probably contemporary with the building lying to the north of the latter. It is the first ware found on the site which has also been found commonly in the Hatti area of Asia Minor. When it begins to get scarce, a rough buff ware with wavy combed ornament comes in; but this appears to be of the Assyrian age. Those who know the Cappadocian area will note the entire lack of the white slipped pottery with polychrome decoration, and the red faced pottery with black ornament, which prevail there,¹ and will wonder why it is only at a late Hittite age that Cappadocia and Syria begin to share their pot-types. I can only suggest that the Hatti of Carchemish were a small ruling class which imposed its art of sculpture on a subject population, but accepted the commoner local products.

A certain sculpture, a processional relief, which appears to stand almost in its original position at the south-eastern foot of the acropolis,

¹ See J. L. Myres, 'Early Pot Fabrics of Asia Minor,' in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xxxiii.

where the accumulation of deposit above bed-rock is, for some reason—perhaps wind-erosion—very slight, is in a different style from all the rest so far found on the site, and this is, I think, an earlier style; for while it shows no Assyrian influence and only remote Babylonian, it is very close to the style of the reliefs of Eyuk, which are thought the earliest of the north Cappadocian sculptures. One would naturally ascribe this relief to a Cappadocian sculptor who had come down to Syria before the great descent of the Hatti of Boghaz Keui. Then there is a group of reliefs found in and about the monumental approach to the stairway, mostly executed in basalt, and all of finer and more individual style than the others, which are mainly of limestone. Such are a very typically Hittite god's head, with legend in relieved characters above it; a broken part of a statue with beautiful rosette ornament on its robe; and two lower parts of stelae showing marching warriors. These display some Babylonian characteristics but no Assyrian, and approximate closely to the Yasili Kaia sculptures near Boghaz Keui. Finally, there are the rest of the approach and stairway reliefs, which are strongly influenced by Assyrian art, but still distinctly Hittite.

As for the architecture, there are certainly two Hittite periods represented in the stairway and approach. The former had been laid out originally independent of the latter. One of the flanking reliefs (of earlier style) has been shifted to suit the slight angle at which the later approach meets the stair-foot, and the stairs show numerous patches and signs of reconstruction. Such reconstruction cannot, however, have been done after the Assyrian conquest, for purely Hittite sculptures were used to adorn the latest stairway. The courtyard to which the gate on the north side of the stair leads lies very high, and so does the room dug out by us to the south-west; but in a trial pit close to the latter a very much lower structure (seven metres down) was revealed. This last will be found, I prophesy, to belong to an earlier palace, and the courtyard and room with the approach and the reconstructed stairway will be relegated to a later—the earlier being of the Boghaz Keui period, i.e. fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., the later of a period when Assyrian influence had become much stronger than Cappadocian in Syria, perhaps in the eleventh century.

The sum of the evidence obtained so far at Carchemish, therefore, seems to me to support the theory that there were Hittites, or at least Hittite cultural influences, in Syria before its conquest by the king of the Hatti of Boghaz Keui; that the Cappadocian occupation established by the latter did not eliminate the earlier stock at Car-

chemish, and was not very long-lasting; and that it was succeeded by a period of independence of Cappadocia and dependence on Assyria, prior to complete conquest by the latter. The period of Cappadocian occupation was, however, that of the city's greatest extent and power; while that of the Assyrian occupation, after Sargon's conquest in 717, was one of weakness and decay, to be followed, not by an Aramaean revival, but by virtual desolation until Graeco-Syrian times.

(2) *Character of Hittite Civilization in Syria.*—This large question involves others, of which the chief is concerned with the nature, period, and strength of the new external influences which may have come to be exerted on Hittite civilization when domiciled south of Taurus. The sculptures from the Hittite strata so far explored at Jerablus show general cultural uniformity with Hittite monuments farther north. There can be no question, not only that the Carchemish society came under direct Cappadocian influence, but also that this Cappadocian civilization was a very vigorous and independent one, when it reached Syria. The script and the manner of cutting it on hard stone are the same in Syria as in Asia Minor, and the Carchemish lapicides show from the first that sureness of hand, both in the general disposition of symbols and in the particular details of them, which could only have resulted from an artistic tradition very long established. The facial types on both the two earlier classes of monuments are identical with those of the most typical Hittite art of Asia Minor and have the same individuality. Not less identical are the poses of the figures, their dress, their attributes. So too are most of the divine representations. From near the Black Sea and the Aegean to the Middle Euphrates there was at one time one plastic art of the Hatti, expressing identical subjects in one and the same spirit and technique. But both on monuments and on lesser objects of local fabric, which are to be referred to the later Hittite period at Carchemish, one notes discrepant elements—elements, that is to say, whose origin and development are not obviously to be traced to the Hatti of Cappadocia. One alien influence is so patent in those sculptures of the Lower City which seem to belong to the approach and restored stairway, that it needs no proof except such as three or four illustrations will afford. This is the *Assyrian*. The Chariot reliefs, the great slab still *in situ* at the south foot of the stairs (bearing, be it noted, Hittite symbols), the bearded bull-footed figures upholding sacred palm-trees, and the great slab inscribed in Hittite, but showing also three bearded heads and sixteen hands, are as Assyrian as they can be, while remaining clearly Hittite work.

There is nothing known to me among the Hittite monuments of Asia Minor so Assyrian as any of these sculptures.

Among what may be considered Mesopotamian importations into the southern Hittite country, special attention should be called to the religious ones. I have said above that there is much in common between the religious representations of the Cappadocian Hatti and those of the Syrian; but there are also differences. The chief is the presence of the nude goddess in the south. The Jerablus relief, on which she appears before a throned king, near whose head is a Hittite inscription, has been known for thirty years, but now for the first time we are able to publish good photographs of its severed parts. The Cappadocian goddesses are generally seated and always draped. Other non-Cappadocian divine figures at Jerablus are the bearded bull-footed demons who grasp the stems of palm-trees. Both these and the nude goddess have well-known Mesopotamian prototypes, and it is obviously from the east that they have come into the Hittite theology.

If Assyrian influence was to be expected, so too was another, the *Egyptian*. But actual evidence of the latter is somewhat lacking on the Carchemish site. A handful of amulets in Egyptian glazed clay, and apparently not of earlier period than the Saitic, alone among objects discovered by us represent commodities of the Nile. I cannot trace direct Egyptian influence on any of the Hittite sculptures found so far at Carchemish, early or late, and very little that can have come indirectly viâ Assyria. This fact, however, must not be insisted upon after only one season's digging.

There are also, in my opinion, indications of another foreign influence, which I should trace ultimately to the Aegean civilization in its latest Bronze Age period, but proximately to Cyprus. I prefer not to deal in detail with these until more of those smaller objects, which usually illustrate foreign influences better than the larger, have been found, and I will only call attention now to two phenomena. First, the crested helmets of the warriors on two slabs from the Approach—helmets such as a steatite filler-vase from Hagia Triada proves were known in Late Minoan Crete. Second, the curious 'champagne-glass' vases from the Acropolis graves, for which I find it difficult to account without presuming indebtedness to some alien model. The form should belong to a late stage of ceramic art, which has always been slow to evolve a foot for vases, and slower to evolve a long foot. The particular form found at Jerablus has, it will be remembered, a peculiar feature, that the cup and foot are neatly wheel-made, but the connecting stem is rather clumsily shaped by

hand. The potters seem to have been botching a borrowed form which was somewhat beyond their powers. If so, what was their model? Mr. H. R. Hall has suggested to me that the carinated form of the bowl and the small foot recall certain Egyptian *alabastra*; but I cannot find any convincing Egyptian prototype, although he is probably right in seeing resemblance between some other vases, found with the 'champagne-glass' vases, and Ramesside forms. Nor can I find a Mesopotamian prototype. The nearest and most accessible region which was producing a 'champagne-glass' vase round about 1100 B.C. was the Aegean in the last period of the Bronze Age. Such vases, though of much finer fabric, having bowls not carinated, and bearing ear-handles, have been found at several points on the western coast of Asia Minor and in Rhodes and Cyprus. It is not a very far cry thence to North Syria; and I suggest provisionally that the Jerablus potters in the latest Bronze Age were trying clumsily to cater for a fashion which had been set by the Aegean at a very slightly earlier period of the same age.

Such a connexion is not difficult to credit, nor is it now suggested for the first time. There are several classes of Hittite antiquities found in Syria (though not yet at Jerablus) which have already been held to suggest the passing of artistic types and influence from the Mediterranean to North Syria and vice versa. Such are the Syrian bronze cult figurines with high peaked caps which in dress and pose recall Aegean statuettes, for example, a silver figurine from Nezero in Thessaly, now in the Ashmolean. On these Prof. W. N. Bates's article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1911, No. 1) should be consulted. Such too are many of the Hittite seal types.

On the other hand, there is also a good deal of Cypriote evidence for a connexion between Cyprus, after it had received an Aegean, probably Cretan, immigration about 1300 B.C., and the south Hittite area. Cypriote pottery or local ware repeating Cypriote ornament has come to light in all the three excavations conducted on north Syrian Hittite sites, viz. at Sinjerli, Sakjegözü, and Jerablus; and if north Syrian Hittite ware has not been noticed yet in Cyprus, its lack may be explained by the fact that, up to the present, no one has known enough about this ware to be able to detect it. Several objects in the Salaminian treasure of Enkomi, the date of whose burial falls in about the last century of the second millennium, have long been recognized as giving proof of Asiatic influence which was ultimately Mesopotamian, but had filtered through some medium, presumably north Syrian; and, especially, a correspondence has been pointed out between the hunting scenes carved respectively on

the ivory casket of Enkomi and the slabs from Sakjegözü, now in Berlin. The curious Cypriote cylinder seals, too, have been accounted for in the same way, and there are other classes of seals which suggest connexion between Cyprus and the Hittite country. For example, a claw-handled seal in gold, found in a tomb at the ancient Tamasos in Cyprus, shows the same peculiar decorative elements in its ornate borders as distinguish the so-called 'Half-Bead' seals, i. e. hemispheroids, which often bear legends in Hittite characters. One of these hemispheroids in the Ashmolean collection is inscribed in what is almost certainly a primitive Cypriote script; while another seal also of typically Hittite form, a flattened spheroid, which is in the same collection, bears a legend in Cypriote characters.

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